"Brief references to the political organization of the Jivaro Indians by sixteenth century writers seem to indicate that in this respect very little change has taken place up to the present time. Salinas says that the Jivaro Indians in the vicinity of Santiago--

were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its own chiefs or captains and, although they are not a hostile people, they carry on continuous wars among themselves.

Referring to the Jivaros of Cungarapas on the lower Santiago, he says:

They continually have their disputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town and group has its chiefs and captains in the manner of those of Santiago before mentioned.

In his second letter, Salinas, again referring to the Jivaros in general, says:

They had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement, which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner.

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of the Santiago that--

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died."

"At the present time the political organization of the Jivaros is at best a very flexible thing and is simple both in theory and in practice. The Jivaro-speaking peoples are divided into scores of so-called tribes. These tribal divisions, however, are merely artificial denominations given by the whites to groups more or less isolated in certain geographical units such as rivers or divides. Tribes in this sense have no existence in the minds of the Indians themselves.

The simplest unit of organization is the patrilineal family group living under a single roof. Such a household is quite independent and self-sufficient, being subservient to no one. The head of the [39] household is usually the oldest man in it, known by the Spanish term 'capito.' Where there are a number of houses in the same general vicinity these may recognize a common war leader known by the Quechua term 'curaka.' It is significant that there is apparently no word in the Jivaro language indicating the equivalent of our idea of a chief."

2: Stirling--39 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-
116, 624, 628

"A typical unit or group under a curaka [KS: head of the household]consists of six or seven houses, each with its capito [KS: common war leader], situated over an area of 5 or 6 miles on some small river. Such a group has no name to designate it other than that of the stream on which it is located. The blood ties in such a group are likely to be rather close. All groupings of the Jivaros other than the household group proper, which is a natural family unit, are traceable directly to the custom of blood revenge. Such groups are in the nature of loose alliances for defensive or offensive warfare. Insomuch as war raids are purely in the nature of feuds, these alliances are never very extensive or very permanent."

2: Stirling--39 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 554

"The power of the curaka [KS: head of the household] is purely advisory and is confined to warfare. He had no authority to order men against their will for any purpose, even that of fighting. The curaka has no special insignia denoting rank and has no special privileges, other than the prestige which his position gives him. He holds his position only as long as he retains his personal influence with the group. Realinements of household groups are frequent as leaders lose prestige or die."

2: Stirling--39[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701

"The number of households under the influence of a given curaka is subject to a great deal of fluctuation. It frequently happens that a strong curaka will build up a fairly powerful group of warriors about him. A weak curaka or capito may have a blood-revenge killing to attend to but will find himself outnumbered by the enemy to such an extent that he is afraid to attempt a killing with his own group. In this event he is likely to call upon the strong curaka to arrange the killing for him, paying him with a gun or a woman. Often, too, a weak curaka, fearing that his group would not be able successfully to defend themselves against an attack from enemies, will voluntarily place himself and his group under the influence of the strong curaka in a loose sort of alliance. In this way the strong group tends to grow and to become even stronger until one curaka may have 8 or 10 lesser curakas more or less under his control. This state of affairs is usually not very permanent. Owing to the loose organization and lack of any real power on the part of the head curaka, the large group becomes unwieldy or develops diverse interests and it tends to split up again into independent units. Consequently, in as little as 2 or 3 years' time, the original head curaka may find that one or more of his former lieutenants are now stronger than he."

"Two examples personally encountered, illustrating the manner in which tribal organization changes, may serve to make more clear the nature of these groupings.

Four or five years ago there was a strong chief on the Upano River named Tuki, known to the Ecuadoreans as José Grande. In the manner previously described, all of the curakas from Macas on the Upano River to Mendez on the Paute River became subchiefs under him until he was generally recognized as the strongest of all of the Jivaro curakas. However, he was beginning to grow old by this time and some of his subcurakas were strong men in their own right. About 2 years ago, Ambusha, who had been gradually gaining in power and becoming famous for his head-hunting activities, split off with his own group, taking several curakas and their men with him. A little later Utita did the same thing. At the time of the writer's visit (1931), although Tuki was recognized by the Government of Ecuador as being head chief of the Macas-Mendez region, actually he had lost all power excepting that over his own family group and was in reality no more than a capito. These divisions of the organization, if it may be termed such, took place apparently without any ill-feeling or formal announcements.

The other example serves to illustrate the effect which warfare may have upon tribal groups. In 1925 the region of the Canga River and the upper Yaupe was very populous and prosperous. The Indians here were a warlike group confident of their own strength and much feared by all of the Indians in neighboring regions. The curaka of the Canga Jivaros was a well-known warrior called Cucusha. Anguasha (pl. 4, d), another warlike

leader, was head of the Yaupe group. The two had always been close friends and companions. During a period of 10 or 15 years they compiled a notable war record, each being credited individually with more than 50 heads during this time. Their raids extended to all of the tribes in the district and some quite distant, until they became the terror of the region. However, these constant raids under two such aggressive leaders began to take their toll of men. Although many victories were registered, they were constantly losing warriors, until eventually their numbers were appreciably reduced. In 1927 Cucusha paid a friendly visit to the Indians of the upper Morona. In 1929 he became sick and died."

2: Stirling--40-41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701, 721

"Among the Jivaros the chieftainship theoretically is inherited by the eldest son. In the ordinary course of event, Cucusha's son, Asapa, would have succeeded him. Asapa, however, was sickly and not able to go to war. Therefore he went to Anguasha and said to him:

'Our tribes have become lately much reduced in number. Our warriors have been killed and many of our women stolen. I am not fitted to be a curaka. [41] My father was a cousin of your father. I think it would be best for you to be curaka to both groups, which can now be as one.'

Thus the Canga and Yaupe tribes were consolidated under Anguasha. Shortly after Cucusha's death Anguasha was spoiling for a fight. Someone happened to remember Cucusha's visit to the Morona 2 years previously , and it was decided that a wishinu from the Morona had brought about his death. The lance was dug up. Anguasha gathered his warriors together and crossed the mountains dividing the Yaupe and the Morona. They attacked, found their opponents well entrenched and well prepared for their coming, with the result that all of Anguasha's warriors excepting two were killed. Anguasha himself received a bullet in the back but managed to escape. Thus was the once powerful Canga-Yaupe alliance practically exterminated."

4: Up de Graff--191-192 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 153, 201, 624

"We were flooded out by the human tide. They clambored into the dugout, delved into everything they could lay hands on, and behaved generally like a crowd of school children to whom the free run of a candy store had been given. They chattered, grinned and gesticulated; they held our trumpery trade-beads up to the light and tried the effect of wearing them; they gazed spell-bound into the hand-mirrors which we had rightly regarded as one of our strongest lines; and finally they were completely overwhelmed by the shoddy striped cotton shirts which the favoured few among the men donned with all the exquisite satisfaction which a youth fresh from school experiences when first he puts on a 'swallow-tail.'

So the ice was broken. But no conversation had taken [192] place as yet, for conversation was impossible. We found that the language spoken by the Antipas was quite unintelligible to us, and that Inca, the only Indian tongue I knew, was unknown to them. Progress was made, however, in the sign-language which is common, to a greater or lesser degree, to all men. They made it clear to us that they wanted a token to send to their chief, a sign whereby the truth of their incredible report of the arrival of white men in the land might be impressed on him; seeing us using machetes they seized on them as serving their purpose well. Three they sent by special envoy to the Chief, and three more they sent a little way down-stream to a point where there was a trail along which he might be expected to pass if the envoy missed him; there the machetes were stuck into the earth as we pile arms in the field. He would be sure to see them, and would be put

on his guard.

And so we sat down to await his arrival."

4: Up de Graff--196-197 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 152, 574

"To take up the tale; we had not to wait more than an hour for the arrival of the chief, a fat, sleek, cunning-looking old thief, who greeted me as his Christian brother and produced a small piece of paper, carefully protected from the elements by a palm leaf, on which was written in ink the name 'Lázaro.' He professed to have been baptized by a Jesuit priest at Macas(where we were destined to go ourselves within a few months). The holy water certainly never penetrated his skin, for to the end of his days he was a shameless rascal, no better than the rest of his kind.

His arrival saved the situation, however, for he spoke Inca (known among the Jívaros as 'the white man's language,' curiously enough, the reason being that it is spoken at all the points of contact between the savage tribes and the outposts of civilization). We always imagined that he owed his chieftainship to the fact that he had lived with the priests, and, later, answered the call of the wild, returning with a wider knowledge of the world than any of his fellows possessed.

He was full of interest concerning our movements. Where had we come from? What were we looking for? Where were we going? Had we any companions, and, if so, where were they? We were subjected to a brisk catechism. Well, we told him we were looking for gold, that we were going up the Santiago (known among the Indians as the Pauta), that we had a camp just below the Pongo, and, above all things, that our camp was one vast treasure-house of presents, such as those we had had the pleasure of giving to his subjects. Indeed, it was a source of great sorrow to us that, owing to the bad going in

the Pongo, we should be unable to bring them up...a pity, for they were certainly a very fine col[197]lection.....No, no efforts of ours could overcome the difficulties of navigation in the cañon, with so many heavy dugouts laden with merchandise destined to enrich his people...Yes, a great pity, for we had brought them up from many moons distance expressly for this purpose, having heard of them from other and lesser peoples who trembled at their name.

Pressed to stay with him as the guests of the tribe before returning, we accepted, lamenting once more that we should be unable to give them some small recompense for their generous hospitality, as our stores were irremediably shut off by the Pongo.

After inspecting their huts, we decided that a small island which lay opposite the settlement would suit us better. It was not that their houses were vermin-ridden. On the contrary, like all naked savages who live in the tropics, they are kept far cleaner than those who have to go clothed, by their frequent immersions in the rivers and by the cleansing action of the sun and rain on their skins."

28: Tessman--360 [7] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 624

The chieftain is called kuhâku. In the case of disputes within the group he has no executive, but only advisory powers. He has no greater number of wives than any other respected member of the community.

According to Karsten (Blood Revenge etc., pp. 7 ff.) the Chiwaro Makas Indians do not have any chieftains; they elect war leaders (unta) in the case of war.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 721 765 [727] [825] There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 701 727 554 624 [796] [342] A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untă* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*, or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 702 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
• 624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *untă*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often [illegible] as rigor-
[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

34 Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969) 1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

532 765 727 778 [796] sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight aperture which may remain.

A total of approximately six days of such intermittent preparation is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa* until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled *kunai* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of chonta palm on the inside.

727 • 624 796 [554] [342] When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from which they departed, they do not go directly to the *wea*'s house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young man is sent to advise the *wea* that "now we are coming with plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara. The *wea* then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebration (*numpey*) which is held at the newly built house of the *wea*.

[765] The *wea* also immediately goes to visit the war party at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his *tsantsa*, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the *wea*, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the *wea* returns home. In two days, the war party follows, is joined at the *wea*'s house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the *tsantsa* celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578
765 *tsamtsa*, for increasing the power of women who are members
796 of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is
[774 immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by
778] the male master of ceremonies, the *uwa*, who usually has been
554] selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowl-
624] edge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, al-
562] though less common, are similarly halted by the women, led
765 by the female ceremonial leader, the *ubá*, who is selected on a
796 basis similar to that for the *uwa*. Thus the religious, ritual,
727 and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the
619] safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to
571] the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsamtsa*
181] feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of
533] their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of kill-
535] ing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration,
539] centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a
common enemy. The intimate interaction between the eupho-
ria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered
enemy is illustrated by this *tsamtsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Cuwi[3] tells me
Cuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Cuwi tells me
Cuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Cuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.